

Message Text

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SUBJECT: BRIEFING ON MIDDLE EAST NEGOTIATIONS FOR KING
HUSSEIN

1. WE RECOGNIZE IT HAS BEEN SOME TIME SINCE WE HAVE HAD
EXCHANGE WITH KING HUSSEIN ON STATUS OF MIDDLE EAST NEGO-
TIATIONS. WE WANT TO KEEP HIM AS WELL-INFORMED AS POSSIBLE
AND RECOGNIZE ADVANTAGES OF THIS FROM POINT OF VIEW OF
MAINTAINING SOME MEASURE OF RECEPTIVITY TO IDEA OF HIS
EVENTUAL ENGAGEMENT IN NEGOTIATING PROCESS AND OF OFF-
SETTING HIS PRESENT TENDENCY TO BE NEGATIVE ABOUT PEACE

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SETTLEMENT PROSPECTS. ON OTHER HAND, WE NEED TO BE CARE-
FUL ABOUT GETTING OUT AHEAD OF SADAT IN OUR CONTACTS WITH
HUSSEIN; OUR CURRENT EFFORT TO KEEP SADAT ENGAGED ON
NEGOTIATING TRACK IS DELICATE AND WE CANNOT AFFORD RISK
THAT THAT SOMETHING WE SAY TO HUSSEIN COULD GET BACK TO
SADAT AND CAUSE LATTER TO FEEL WE HAD DIVULGED INFORMATION
HE HAD EXPECTED US TO HOLD IN CONFIDENCE.

2. WITH THESE PRELIMINARY COMMENTS, WE HOPE FOLLOWING WILL GIVE YOU SOMETHING TO WORK WITH IN BRINGING KING UP TO DATE WHEN YOU CALL ON HIM FOLLOWING YOUR RETURN:

-- AS KING WILL RECALL, YOU BRIEFED HIM ABOUT MOST RECENT

DAYAN AND BEGIN VISITS HERE AND MENTIONED TO HIM QUESTIONS WE HAD PUT TO DAYAN ABOUT WHAT HAPPENS AT END OF TRANSITIONAL PERIOD IN WEST BANK/GAZA.

-- ISRAELIS HAVE PROMISED TO GIVE US ANSWERS TO THESE QUESTIONS, BUT SINCE THEY INVOLVE KEY ISSUES FOR ISRAEL THEY WILL REQUIRE CABINET DISCUSSION. DAYAN TOLD US HE BELIEVED THERE WAS BETTER CHANCE FOR FAVORABLE CABINET CONSIDERATION OF OUR QUESTIONS IF WE ALLOWED FEW WEEKS TO ELAPSE SO THAT EMOTIONS COULD SUBSIDE FROM SENATE ACTION ON AIRCRAFT SALES. EXPECTATION NOW IS THAT DISCUSSION WILL BEGIN AT JUNE 4 CABINET MEETING AND WILL PROBABLY CONTINUE AT JUNE 12 MEETING. SHORTLY THEREAFTER WE HOPE TO HAVE ISRAELI ANSWERS.

-- WE WILL WISH TO EVALUATE ISRAELI RESPONSE CAREFULLY TO DETERMINE WHETHER IT OFFERS BASIS FOR RESUMPTION OF MORE ACTIVE NEGOTIATIONS. SADAT HAS INDICATED THAT IF ISRAEL CAN INTRODUCE NEW ELEMENTS IN ISRAELI POSITION HE WOULD
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BE WILLING TO DISCUSS THEM DIRECTLY WITH ISRAELIS AND WOULD HAVE IDEAS OF HIS OWN TO CONTRIBUTE IN THESE DISCUSSIONS.

-- IN MEANTIME WE HAVE BEEN CONTINUING OUR EXCHANGES WITH SADAT ON WEST BANK/GAZA ISSUES WHICH, AS KING WILL RECALL, IS SECOND ITEM ON POLITICAL COMMITTEE AGENDA AGREED TO IN JANUARY. (FIRST ITEM--DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES FOR COMPREHENSIVE PEACE IN MIDDLE EAST--WILL BE DIFFICULT TO COMPLETE UNTIL THERE IS MEASURE OF AGREEMENT ON WHAT PRINCIPLES MEAN WHEN APPLIED TO WEST BANK/GAZA.) AS KING KNOWS, SADAT FEELS HEAVY CONSTRAINTS ABOUT GOING INTO DETAIL ABOUT WEST BANK/GAZA ARRANGEMENTS BECAUSE OF HIS VIEW THAT PALESTINIANS THEMSELVES AS WELL AS JORDAN MUST HAVE VOICE IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS. NEVERTHELESS, BOTH SADAT AND ISRAELIS RECOGNIZE THAT PALESTINIAN QUESTION, INCLUDING STATUS OF WEST BANK/GAZA TERRITORIES, IS CRUX OF PRESENT NEGOTIATIONS, WHICH MUST BE RESOLVED IF MOVEMENT TOWARD PEACE SETTLEMENT IS NOT TO FOUNDER.

-- ONE OF IDEAS SADAT HAS DISCUSSED WITH US, AS WE GATHER HE HAS ALSO WITH THE JORDANIANS, IS THAT DURING TRANS-

ITIONAL PERIOD WEST BANK WOULD BE TURNED OVER TO JORDAN FOR CUSTODIANSHIP AND GAZA TO EGYPT. OUR OWN VIEW IS THAT WHILE THIS IS INTERESTING CONCEPT IT COULD PROVIDE AN ELEMENT IN THE NEGOTIATIONS ONLY IF IT WERE BROADENED TO INCLUDE PROVISIONS FOR CONTINUING ISRAELI SECURITY ROLE AND FOR PALESTINIAN PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL ADMINISTRATION.

-- WE HAVE TALKED WITH SADAT ABOUT DESIRABILITY OF EGYPT PUTTING FORWARD ITS IDEAS FORMALLY FOR TRANSMISSION TO ISRAEL SO AS TO HAVE AT LEAST ONE ARAB PROPOSAL ON TABLE AS COUNTERPART TO BEGIN PLAN. WE STILL BELIEVE THIS IS DESIRABLE SINCE IT WILL BE DIFFICULT TO MOVE NEGOTIATIONS TO A MIDDLE GROUND AS LONG AS BEGIN PLAN IS ONLY PROPOSAL
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ON THE TABLE. SO FAR, HOWEVER, EGYPTIANS HAVE NOT DETERMINED ON ANYTHING FINAL IN THE WAY OF PROPOSAL THAT THEY WISH US TO CONVEY TO ISRAEL.

-- OUR HOPE IS THAT ISRAELI REPLIES TO OUR QUESTIONS WILL BE SUFFICIENTLY POSITIVE TO CONSTITUTE BASIS TO REOPEN DIRECT TALKS AND ACTIVE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN EGYPT AND ISRAEL. THIS WOULD BE DESIRABLE, BECAUSE DAYAN IN HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH US IN WASHINGTON A MONTH AGO OUTLINED SOME IDEAS THAT WE BELIEVE ARE WORTH DISCUSSING FIRSTHAND WITH SADAT. HOWEVER, WE ARE ALSO REALISTIC ABOUT POSSIBILITY THAT ISRAELI ANSWERS WILL NOT GIVE US ENOUGH TO CONSTITUTE BREAKTHROUGH WE ARE HOPING FOR. IN THIS CASE WE WILL BE PREPARED TO STEP IN WITH OUR OWN IDEAS AT APPROPRIATE TIME IF WE BELIEVE THEY ARE NECESSARY AS CATALYST TO RESTORE MOMENTUM TO NEGOTIATIONS. AS SOON AS WE HAVE HAD CHANCE TO EVALUATE ISRAELI REPLIES AND TO DETERMINE OUR OWN NEXT STEPS, WE WILL BE IN FURTHER TOUCH WITH KING HUSSEIN.

-- OUR OVERALL CONCEPTION OF HOW NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD PROCEED HAS NOT CHANGED. WE STILL BELIEVE JORDAN'S PARTICIPATION AT SOME STAGE IN NEGOTIATIONS ON RESOLUTION OF PALESTINIAN ISSUES AND OF STATUS OF WEST BANK IS VITAL. WE BELIEVE WE HAVE GOOD UNDERSTANDING OF KING HUSSEIN'S POSITION AND WE SYMPATHIZE WITH CONCERN THAT JORDAN CANNOT AFFORD TO ENTER NEGOTIATIONS ON BASIS OF TOTALLY OPEN-ENDED PROPOSITION IN TERMS OF FINAL OUTCOME OF NEGOTIATING PROCESS. WE BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT WE WILL HAVE BASIS FOR HIS JOINING THE NEGOTIATIONS IF ISRAEL IS PREPARED TO ACCEPT ALL OF THE PRINCIPLES OF RESOLUTION 242 AS THE BASIS FOR A FINAL DETERMINATION OF THE FUTURE STATUS OF THE WEST BANK AND GAZA AT THE END OF AN INTERIM PERIOD,
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WITH THE DETAILS TO BE WORKED OUT IN NEGOTIATIONS WITH JORDAN, EGYPT AND REPRESENTATIVE PALESTINIANS, AND WITH APPROVAL BY INHABITANTS OF THE WEST BANK AND GAZA.

-- WE WILL BE IN TOUCH AGAIN WITH HUSSEIN FOLLOWING RECEIPT OF ISRAELI REPLIES TO OUR QUESTIONS. MEANWHILE WE WANT TO STRESS THE IMPORTANCE OF HUSSEIN'S CONTINUING TO SUPPORT OUR AND SADAT'S EFFORTS TO MOVE THE NEGOTIATIONS FORWARD AND OF HIS KEEPING AN OPEN MIND AND BEING PREPARED TO BE FLEXIBLE SHOULD THE OPPORTUNITIES FOR

BROADER NEGOTIATIONS DEVELOP. OUR INTEREST IN THE SECURITY AND WELL BEING OF THE HASHEMITE KINGDOM OF JORDAN GUARANTEES THAT WE WILL TAKE FULL ACCOUNT OF HUSSEIN'S CONCERNS. ON THE OTHER HAND, BECAUSE OF OUR DEEP INTEREST IN JORDAN'S FUTURE, WE WOULD NOT WANT TO SEE IT MISS BECAUSE OF EXCESSIVE CAUTION AND UNDUE SKEPTICISM THE CHANCE TO PLAY ITS RIGHTFUL ROLE IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PEACE AND SECURITY. VANCE

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